his own jurisdiction with as little reference to Peking as possible —and in turn was held responsible by Peking for whatever went amiss in his realm. This independence of action of the heads of provinces was repeatedly seen in the nineteenth century, and never more vividly than when, in 1900, the Viceroys and Governors outside of the Northeast chose to disregard the apparent declaration of war on the powers by Peking and remained on friendly terms with the invaders. Local semi-autonomy was, of course, necessary in a land the size of China in a day when no railways, telegraphs, automobiles, or airplanes bound the country together., If so large an area were to be successfully governed from one capital, it had to be by some such device of granting discretionary power to the highest officers in each major administrative unit.

The danger was that strong officials in the provinces would set themselves up as fully independent monarchs and even make a bid for the control of the Empire. This was heightened by strong local loyalties and prejudices. The menace was fairly chronic through the entire history of China. Early in the course of the Ch'ing, it will be recalled, the dynasty was almost wrecked by the rebellion of Wu San-kuei and other territorial magnates in the South. Throughout the centuries strong monarchs had tried various safeguards against it. Since the Han, government through a hierarchy recruited through civil service examinations had been the most nearly constant and successful. In addition, a number of ingenious devices were employed by the Ch'ing in much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By no means all of them originated with the Manchus, however, nor is it clear that each

was adopted with this specific purpose in mind. JThe larger proportion of all officials in the hierarchy, even the most humble district magistrates, were appointed from the capital. Their specific local assignments might come from the provincial authorities, and a powerful official might and often did exert pressure to bring about the appointment of a protege, t}u| P^ing did not risk the possibility of any Governor or Viceroy DuilHingiip'a regional machine. Moreover, no official was permitted to hold a post in his native province. Seeming exceptions were sometimes made when a man was designated as a *locum tenens* to a position in the province of his birth—but he appears seldom if ever to have been